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606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of [593] economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

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595 in the same dwelling. If one has a baby, he sleeps with the one who has no baby."

595 602 The motive force toward sororal polygyny, of course, is the obligation which the man owes his first wife's parents. Should they permit him to marry a second wife from another family, they would, in effect, be agreeing to share his time and services:

If a man wants a second wife, he is not free to marry anyone who appeals to him. His first obligation and duty are to his wife's family. If his wife has any sisters or female cousins who are eligible, he would have to marry one of them rather than go outside the family. If he wants to marry outside nevertheless, he has to get permission from that family. He would never make such a request unless he suspected that the family does not care much about him anyway. Even if the wife's family does not have any eligible girls, as a matter of courtesy he should state his intentions and ask permission. The great obligation of a man to his wife's family guides him in all his actions. Therefore, the second wife is usually the sister of the first.

595 But, for one reason or another, it is often impossible to establish sororal polygyny:

Sometimes a man takes the sister of his wife as his second wife. But it does not always happen that way. It's pretty well divided. N. had two wives who were not sisters. Another man has two wives who are sisters. There are a good many cases where the women are not sisters. C. had three wives at one time. One is left now. They were not sisters. G. had four at one time; none of them were sisters.

595 609 195 Whether sororal polygyny can be arranged depends in large measure on the ages of the wife's sisters when the husband joins the family and on the relations which they initially establish with him:

If the sister of your wife wants to, she can hide from you. Usually she doesn't do this though. She can use polite form to you if she wants to. If she starts this, you probably will never marry her, at least while your wife is alive. Only a grown girl would use the polite form to you. Using the polite form is not a matter of liking a person only; it is a matter of respect. And when you have this respect relationship between you, you aren't going to get friendly and intimate to the point where she can become a second wife.

But if a sister of your wife is quite young when you marry and she doesn't use polite form to you and grows up around you, sees you without your shirt, and under all conditions, she isn't going to use polite form to you when she grows up. She is too friendly with you for that. Then you can marry her all right. . . . .

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The manner in which interest in the wife's sister develops to the point where sororal polygyny occurs has been convincingly described: 595 609

I don't know whether I would marry my wife's sister, too, under the old conditions. It depended on a man's wealth, on whether he could support more than one woman. The intimacy grows up gradually. Maybe you get familiar with her in secret. Then it comes out into the open, and, if your wife thinks it is all right, you marry her sister too. That's how it was with a man I know of. Now he doesn't care. He walks to the store with that other woman [his wife's sister, his second wife].

The other day my wife and her younger sister were going to the creek for water. I went along. The sister did something, like poking me in the ribs. I picked her up and made believe I was going to throw her in the creek. My wife was pouring water down my neck. I didn't think anything of it because we are always cutting up like that. My wife didn't either. I thought no one was around. Then I noticed that a lot of people were watching. I felt pretty much ashamed and let the girl down.

Just to show you how it works: My wife had a sister, now dead, who used to want to go around and camp with us. I didn't know it, but after a while my wife told me that the people were saying that I had two wives. The old man, her father, heard of this first and didn't want the sister to go with us any more.[7] He told his wife, and she told my wife. My wife said she didn't care, that it wasn't so, but that even if it was so, it would be all right. You see the idea is still pretty strong. My wife's sister didn't care what they said either, and she didn't stop going around with us.

I think this is the way those double marriages came about in the old days. It was a gradual thing growing out of intimacy, and nothing was thought about it. It was possible because sisters were together so much, and an unmarried girl, if there wasn't any hiding or polite talk to interfere, would be around her sister's home and see her sister's husband all the time.

There seems to be no unalterable usage governing living arrangements when a man has more than one wife: 595

If there are two wives, sometimes each has a separate dwelling and sometimes not. All eat together if they are living in the same dwelling; if not, each woman and her children eat separately. The man divides his time between the women. The first wife has authority and the favored position. [264]

According to the testimony of another man, the "wives live together in one camp, with the first wife having rights over the

[7] This man, the father, was himself practicing sororal polygyny at the time.

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to him by a messenger with the words that after that they would not have to be ashamed before each other. If the man accepts the cigarette, he no longer has to avoid her and is free to marry her. 587 602

If she has not been avoiding him but was just using polite form to him, she could offer the cigarette herself, saying that thereafter the polite form would not be necessary. If he accepts it, all would be as before. [195]

Even when the family to which a man is "bound" has no girl to offer in place of the deceased, the man must act with the greatest of respect until he is formally freed:

If his father-in-law has no more daughters, the husband will want to marry out of the family after a while. He will say, "I am young and I wish to marry. I respect you and your family, but you have no more daughters for me." He has to get permission to marry out. If the old man refuses permission, even if he has no more daughters, the young man will have to obey. The old man, the father-in-law, is the boss. When the young man gets permission he goes off to another encampment and marries there. [606]

An excellent example of the spirit in which an understanding is reached and of the speeches that pass back and forth before the widower regains his freedom of action is provided in this account:

If, after my wife's death, my mother-in-law has any more daughters and she likes me, she will send one of them, and I'll marry her. But if she has only sons, and finally I feel that there is some other woman I want to marry, I talk to my brother-in-law, if he is old enough, and I say, "I have had a hard time, but now I want to marry again. You have no other girls for me to marry, and now I am ready to marry again."

Then he will go and tell his mother, and the next day he will come back and say, "What has happened has happened. It can't be helped. If we had anybody to give you, we'd give you a woman. You have been good to us, and we hate to have you part from us, but there is no help for it. We hope you will get a good girl and be happy." After this you are not under obligation to your mother-in-law.

The levirate.—The existence of the levirate does not give a man any extraordinary privileges with the wife of his brother or male cousin while these relatives are still alive: 587 607 605

In the right way a man is supposed to have great respect for his cousin's wife. You should leave your brother's wife alone and your cousin's wife alone too. They call you a witch if you do otherwise. Only when people get very old do they joke a little when they are related like this—people of R.'s age [sixty-five to seventy] might, but never the young people.

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587 607 605 If a married man dies, however, his widow becomes "bound" to his family and particularly to his brothers and male cousins:

The woman then "belongs to" the dead man's brothers or cousins. She would be "bound" to them. The woman cannot marry for a long time after her husband dies, except to one of his relatives. But if none of them asks her to marry within a couple of years after the death, it is a sign that none of them wants to marry her, and she is free to marry someone else if she has the chance.

587 602 Even though the woman remains among her own relatives after her bereavement, cares for her children as usual, and need not have much direct contact with her former husband's kin, she owes them obedience and courtesy. If she fails in this obligation, they are not slow to show resentment:

G. married a Chiricahua man. She was a Chiricahua herself. Her husband died, and she was, therefore, "bound" to her husband's family. They did not have an available man for her. T., the only possibility, was already married. So she married a Mescalero Apache. She went around saying some pretty mean things about the family to which she was "bound." T. got pretty mad and said he was going over there and slit her nose.

This illustrates the point that a woman is directly responsible to her dead husband's family. A woman who went around with someone to whom she was not "bound" might have her nose cut. It was the right of the dead man's family to dispose of her and watch her conduct. Any of them can warn her of her conduct. If the husband has no brothers, a cousin will marry her. The age of the [605] cousin does not matter. The oldest one does not necessarily marry her. Choice is what counts.

Should the widow's relatives-in-law choose for her a man she does not like, she and her kin must convince them that the marriage would be unwise. If the woman has been an unworthy wife, if none of the brothers or cousins of the deceased is interested in her, or if the dead man's relatives feel that her family was too harsh to him, the group to whom the widow is "bound" reject her.

There is the case of a single man whose married brother died. Then the dead man's wife was "bound" to him. She wanted to marry him all right, but he didn't want her. She waited a number of years, but he wouldn't have her. He knew she wanted him. People used to kid him about it. We would say, "Now she is 'bound' to you, why don't you go and marry that woman?" It would sure make him angry! A good many of the boys used to tease him. She finally married someone else.